Chapter 4 Reconciling Nationalist and Non-Nationalist Loyalties

Figure 4-1 Demonstrators from an animal rights group called Fourrure Torture — Fur Torture — gather near the Canadian Embassy in Paris, France, to protest the annual commercial seal hunt off Canada's East Coast. The placard reads, "Canada! Stop slaughtering seals." The word covering the Canadian flag means "Shame."

CHAPTER ISSUE

To what extent should people reconcile their contending nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties?

The annual commercial seal hunt off Canada's East Coast is controversial. Environmental groups around the world have lobbied to ban seal products. Countries such as the United States, France, and Mexico have responded to this pressure. And in 2007, the European Union was planning to make it illegal for members to import goods made from seals.

But both the Canadian government and the government of Newfoundland and Labrador defend the hunt. The Newfoundland and Labrador government says the hunt provides essential work for 6000 people and "is intricately linked to our culture, and to our economy, especially for many of the communities along the east and northeast coast of the island, and as a traditional way of life along the coast of Labrador."

Examine the photograph on page 88, then respond to these questions:

- What beliefs are being expressed by the protesters in the photograph? How might these beliefs shape the protesters' identity? Their loyalties?
- If you were an environmentalist in Port au Choix, Newfoundland, and knew that your neighbours relied on income from the seal hunt, how might you respond? Would your response involve contending loyalties?
- The protesters painted the word "Shame" across the Canadian flag. Was this a disrespectful defacement of the flag or a legitimate protest tactic? Does nationalist loyalty shape your judgment? Explain.
- As props, the protesters used stuffed animals that look like harp seal pups. But killing pups has been illegal since 1987. Does this knowledge change your opinion of the protesters' tactics? Of sealing? Why or why not?

KEY TERMS

non-nationalist loyalty

inflation

alienation

segregation

Looking Ahead

In this chapter, you will develop responses to the following questions as you explore the extent to which people should reconcile their contending nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties:

- What are non-nationalist loyalties?
- How can nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties compete?
- How have people reconciled contending nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties?

My Journal on Nationalism

You have explored several examples of contending nationalist loyalties. Can these loyalties be reconciled? Should they be? What does your response to these questions say about you? Use words or images — or both — to respond to these questions. Date your ideas and keep them in your journal, notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file so that you can return to them as you progress through this course.

Figure 4-2 When the Colorado Avalanche played the Edmonton Oilers in October 2007, long-time Oiler Ryan Smyth was in an Avalanche uniform. The game was his first in Edmonton since he was traded in February 2007. At the time of the trade, Smyth told reporters, "Edmonton . . . that's where my heart is." What contending loyalties do you think Smyth might have experienced when he returned to Edmonton for this game?

What are non-nationalist loyalties?

Everyone's identity includes individual and collective loyalties. Some of your collective loyalties may be nationalist, and some may be non-nationalist — loyalties that are not embedded in the idea of nation. Loyalty to your family is an example of a **non-nationalist loyalty**.

The importance people assign to their many loyalties can vary with time and circumstances. During World War II, for example, nationalist loyalty was very important to many Canadians. But in the years after the war ended, non-nationalist loyalties often assumed greater importance.

Suppose you grew up in Banff, the hometown of Ryan Smyth, and became a hockey fan. Like many others in town, you enthusiastically followed Smyth's career and, as a result, became a loyal fan of his first National Hockey League team, the Edmonton Oilers. What loyalties might have been involved in your decision to support the Oilers? Would these loyalties have been nationalist or non-nationalist?

In early 2007, Smyth was traded to the New York Islanders and that summer signed with the Colorado Avalanche. How might this have affected your loyalties? Would you have experienced contending loyalties? If so, how might you have reconciled them? Would you have continued to be a Smyth fan, or would you have chosen another player as a favourite? Would you have continued to root for the Oilers, switched your loyalty to the Avalanche, or chosen another team completely? What loyalties might have played an important role in your decision? What other factors might affect your decision? Which of these loyalties would have been nationalist and which would have been non-nationalist?

The Nature of Loyalties

If you were asked to list your loyalties, you might include your family, your close friends, your school, your favourite music, your nation, and so on.

If your list included 20 different loyalties, what might happen when you develop a new loyalty, perhaps to a different sport? Suppose, for example, you developed a new interest in basketball. Would you need to delete an old loyalty to make room for this new one?

If you answered no, you are like most people, who have an unlimited capacity for forming loyalties. A new loyalty does not require them to give up old loyalties, especially when these loyalties do not contend. Think, for example, about your friends. Forming a new friendship does not require you to drop an old friend. Whether you have two or 22 friends, you can remain loyal to them all.

Do you envision your loyalties as an interconnected web, as a hierarchy that ranks them from most to least important, or as an unconnected patchwork?

Distinguishing between Nationalist and Non-Nationalist Loyalties

The dividing line between nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties is not always clear. Take your friends, for example. You may have chosen some friends because you share their interests and others because you enjoy their sense of humour or you grew up as neighbours. Your loyalty to these friends is not embedded in the idea of nation.

But you may also have chosen some friends because you share with them a sense of belonging to a nation. Two Tamil-speaking students who immigrated to Canada from Sri Lanka, for example, may become friends because they share a nationalist loyalty to their language and culture.

Many non-nationalist loyalties fall into one of the categories shown in Figure 4-3. All are loyalties to an idea, a collective, or a group. A regional loyalty, for example, can be understood as a loyalty to the idea of "the West" or to the people of the West.

These loyalties are often interconnected. Religious loyalty, for example, may also involve cultural, racial or ethnic, and ideological loyalties. In addition, these feelings can sometimes develop into the kind of internalized or collective consciousness that becomes a nationalist loyalty. When, for example, the Third Estate in France rebelled against the nobles and clergy, their class loyalty was transformed into nationalist loyalty. And when Tibetans, who are largely Buddhist, express their desire to govern themselves, their religious and regional loyalties are also transformed into nationalist loyalty.

Would loyalty to family, friends, or your school fit into any of the categories in Figure 4-3? Why or why not? What other categories might you add to this chart?

CheckBack

You explored Tibetan nationalism in Chapter 1 and the French Revolution in Chapter 2.

Figure 4-3 Some Non-Nationalist Loyalties

Class Loyalty	Religious Loyalty	Regional Loyalty	Ideological Loyalty	Cultural Loyalty	Racial or Ethnic Loyalty
Loyalty to people from a particular social sector	Loyalty to a religious organization and its beliefs and values	Loyalty to a region and the interests of people living there	Loyalty to shared ideas about how a society should work	Loyalty to a way of life	Loyalty to people of the same racial or ethnic background
Examples – working people, business entrepreneurs	*Examples – Catholic Church, Tibetan Buddhism*	*Examples – the West, the Arctic*	*Examples – Conservatism, Marxism, animal rights*	*Examples – Alberta ranchers, Ukrainian heritage, Siksika heritage*	*Examples – Tutsis, Koreans*

Reflect and Respond

With a partner, return to the chapter-opening photograph of the seal hunt protest (Figure 4-1, p. 88) and choose one character or group mentioned in the questions on page 89. Or choose the Ryan Smyth fan mentioned on page 90.

Discuss the loyalties involved in the situation you chose and create a web or other graphic to show them visually. Use colour and shape to indicate which loyalties are nationalist and which are non-nationalist. Identify contending loyalties by adding connecting lines or another graphic element. Use a numbering system or another method to rate the importance of each loyalty shown. Add a title and a legend to your graphic, and be prepared to explain your judgments.

Explain your graphic to a small group and respond to their questions and comments.

How can nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties compete?

Just as differing nationalist loyalties can compete, so can nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties. This conflict can occur when nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties lead people toward different goals.

Why do people tend to pigeonhole others according to class?

When Class and Nationalist Loyalty Compete

Most societies are divided, either formally or informally, into socio-economic classes. Wealth, status, education level, career choice, ancestry, heritage, ethnicity, or a combination of these factors — and more — often play a role in this division. If people accept these divisions, no conflict occurs. But if people dispute the divisions or believe that one class is favoured over another, conflict may result. The French Revolution is an example of the conflicts that can occur.

Giving Voice to Class Loyalty

Maria Dunn is an Alberta singer-songwriter who has focused her recent writing on the struggles of working people in Western Canada. Her ballad "We Were Good People," for example, tells the story of what happened on December 20, 1932, at the height of the Great Depression.

On that day, about 10 000 desperate farmers, factory workers, and unemployed people had gathered in Edmonton to take part in a peaceful march urging the government to help them. They wanted work, food, and hope for the future. As the marchers turned a corner and headed toward the Alberta legislature, mounted police officers swinging billy clubs rode into the crowd. Twenty-nine people were arrested and many more were injured.

The following are some lines from Dunn's song:

Figure 4-4 Maria Dunn has won several City of Edmonton awards and has been nominated for Prairie Music Awards, as well as a Juno Award. How does performance art enable people to both voice their opinions and take action?

Well the air was almost festive with Christmas trees in view
But as we moved to leave the square and march the Avenue
A sound I'd never heard before turned my heart to lead
The sound of a billy club cracking open heads . . .
We were good people, gathered in the square
It wasn't ease and comfort had driven us there
But they treated us like criminals for showing our despair
Oh I remember well this Bloody Tuesday

Describe the loyalties that clashed in Edmonton in 1932. How might the outcome have been avoided?

Figure 4-5 For the cover of her 2004 CD, *We Were Good People*, Maria Dunn chose this picture of coal miners' children during the 1932 strike in Blairmore, Alberta. What loyalty does Dunn's choice reveal?

When Religious and Nationalist Loyalty Compete

Because of globalization and worldwide migration, your social studies class may include students with many different religious beliefs. In civic nations such as Canada, where freedom of religion is guaranteed in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, people with various religious loyalties respect one another's beliefs and coexist peacefully.

But this was not — and is not — always the case. In many countries, religious and nationalist loyalties have come into conflict in the past and continue to do so today.

CheckForward

You will read more about Iraq in Chapter 5.

Religious Loyalties in Iraq

Since the 2003 United States–led invasion of Iraq and the fall of dictator Saddam Hussein, Iraqis have been divided over how their nation should work. Most Iraqis are Muslims, but they are split into two main groups: Shiites and Sunnis. The two disagree over how to interpret the Qur'an, the Muslim scripture. This disagreement has affected their national loyalties and sparked violent conflict.

Shiites make up about 60 per cent of Iraq's population, while about 35 per cent are Sunnis. This is unusual in the Middle East, where between 85 and 90 per cent of Muslims are Sunnis. Iraq also has a substantial Kurdish population, many of whom are Sunni.

Much of the current religious conflict in Iraq focuses on the role religion should play in the country's political and justice systems. Mansoor Moaddel, an Iranian-born Eastern Michigan University professor who has conducted a series of public opinion surveys in the country, said, "The Kurds and Sunnis dislike religious regimes, while the Shiites have a problem with secular politics [politics in which religion plays no role]."

In 2007, Moaddel conducted another public opinion poll in Iraq. Figures 4-6 and 4-7 show how the Iraqis surveyed responded to two of the questions.

FYI

Many Kurds of northern Iraq regard themselves as a nation because their ethnic origins and traditions are different from those of other Iraqis, who are largely of Arabic heritage. The Kurds live in Kurdistan, a mountainous region that is divided among Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria, and Armenia. Most Iraqis speak Arabic, but Kurds speak their own language, Kurdish, and have developed their own distinct traditions and culture.

Examine Figures 4-6 and 4-7. What relationships do you see? Why do you think more Shiites than Sunnis or Kurds would identify themselves as Iraqis first? How might the minority status of Sunnis and Kurds, as well as their opinions about the role of religion in politics, create conflict between their loyalty to their religion and their national loyalty? What factors, besides religion, might affect Kurds' loyalty to the idea of Iraq as their nation?

Which group(s) — Kurds, Sunnis, or Shiites — do you think would be more likely to view religion as a foundation of the Iraqi nation? As a non-nationalist loyalty? Explain your response.

Figure 4-6 Public Opinion Poll, 2007

Would Iraq be a better place if religion and politics were separated?

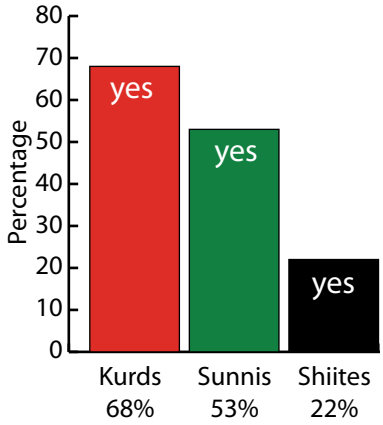
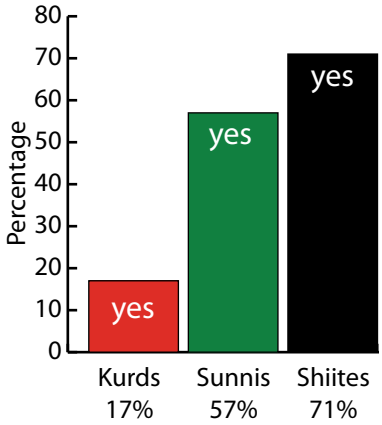


Figure 4-7 Public Opinion Poll, 2007

Would you describe yourself as Iraqi above all?



SPINBUSTER

Identifying Spin in the News

"Spin" is a word that is often used to describe how the news is manipulated to shape public opinion by presenting a particular point of view or perspective. Spin often includes elements of bias and propaganda and may involve unsupported opinion, rumour, and even outright lies.

The photograph on this page became one of the enduring images of the war in Iraq. It appeared on the front pages of newspapers around the world, on web sites, and on TV news programs.

Steps to Analyzing and Interpreting Cause-and-Effect Relationships

Step 1: Question assumptions

With a partner, examine the photograph and respond to the following questions:

- If you were a news editor, why would you have chosen to feature this image? What message would you be sending? What loyalties would you be highlighting?
- As a newspaper reader, how would you have responded to the image? What loyalties would have influenced your responses? Would the image have challenged or reinforced these loyalties?

Step 2: Think about bias

With your partner, discuss whether the presentation of the image was biased. The following questions may help focus your thinking:

- What did the news organizations that presented the image have to gain?
- What information might have been left out of the picture? Is it possible that other images presented a conflicting version of the event — and were not used?
- What might you see if you could look beyond the edges of the photograph?

Figure 4-8 Soon after American troops entered Baghdad in 2003, Western journalists took this picture of Iraqis pulling down a huge statue of Saddam Hussein in Fardus Square. This action was presented as a symbol of Iraqis' joy at being liberated from the dictator's repressive regime.

Step 3: Analyze the context

With your partner, analyze how the context of this news story might have affected the way the photograph was interpreted.

- Who told the story that went with the image?
- What might the storyteller have to gain?

Step 4: Be a spinbuster — look for alternative points of view and information

Since this event, journalists and others have questioned what happened. British journalist Robert Fisk, for example, said the event was a "stage-managed photo opportunity."

Others have said that only a few people were in Fardus Square, and most were either journalists or the American marines who pulled down the statue. Still others have claimed that the few Iraqis involved were flown in by the American forces, who planned the event, which took place directly opposite the hotel where the international media were based.

With your partner, discuss whether this information changes your responses to questions in Steps 1, 2, and 3. Make a list of resources you might consult to confirm or challenge claims about the event. Is it possible to find out the truth behind this photograph?

Summing Up

You can use your spinbusting skill to detect bias and propaganda in a variety of situations at school and in everyday life.

When Regional and Nationalist Loyalty Compete

A region may be an area within a country (e.g., the West), an area within a province (e.g., northern Alberta), or even an area that crosses provincial and national boundaries (e.g., the Prairies). People often express their regional loyalty by actively promoting the interests of their region, but this loyalty can sometimes clash with national loyalties. This is what happened in Alberta in 1980.

Oil, Gas, and Regional Loyalty

During the early 1970s, Canada and other countries experienced a prolonged period of **inflation** — rising prices and a drop in the purchasing power of money. By 1978, inflation had eased, but by 1980, the price of oil had risen to $34 (U.S.) a barrel from $14. Canadian manufacturers, who were based largely in Ontario and Québec, as well as consumers across the country, faced high energy bills. Inflation had become a threat again.

In response, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's Liberal government introduced the National Energy Program in 1980. The NEP was designed to

- make Canada self-sufficient for energy
- reduce foreign ownership of oil and gas companies operating in Canada
- protect Canadians against high energy costs by setting a Canadian oil price that was lower than the world price

The Trudeau government reasoned that Canada is rich in oil and gas, so Canadians should not have to pay high world prices. Canadian-owned companies were to receive grants for research and development, as well as the right to keep more of their revenues.

But in Alberta, which produced about 86 per cent of Canada's oil, many people were outraged. They protested the federal government's interference in an area of provincial responsibility and warned that the NEP would both prevent Alberta from benefiting from high world prices and seriously harm the Canadian oil and gas industry.

These predictions proved accurate. Many foreign oil companies cut production or shut down their Alberta operations completely to focus on business outside Canada, where they could sell at world prices.

Although the NEP was later dropped, Alberta premier Ralph Klein summed up his view of its effect: "The Alberta economy nose-dived thanks in no small part to the [federal] government's National Energy Program, which drained 50 000 jobs and $100 billion in revenue out of the province."

Figure 4-9 Tom Innes, a political cartoonist for the *Calgary Herald*, created this cartoon in 1980 as Alberta premier Peter Lougheed (left) and Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau (right) were about to start negotiating the price of Canadian oil. What was Innes predicting would happen? What loyalties do you think motivated Lougheed and Trudeau? How do you think this cartoon would have been received in Alberta? In Ontario? In Québec?

VOICES

We view the federal export tax on Alberta oil as contrary to both the spirit and intent of Confederation. It is discriminatory, and is a price freeze on all of Alberta's oil production at immense cost to Albertans.

— Alberta premier Peter Lougheed, opening statement to the First Ministers' Conference on Energy, January 22, 1974

The needs of the federal government to be able to share to a reasonably appropriate degree in the various streams of income across the country [through corporate income tax] are self evident . . . A very high level of provincial royalties obviously erodes the corporate tax base.

— Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, in a letter to Alberta premier Peter Lougheed, March 12, 1974

Should the resources of each province be shared equally by all Canadians?

The Oil Sands and Loyalties

> The first time I ever came to the site, I was a 23-year-old kid. I flew into [Fort] McMurray, saw three fights, spent a sleepless night in the hotel, and then came to the [Mildred Lake] site the next morning by boat. I'd never seen anything like it. There it was, sitting in the middle of nowhere. The pilot site was already operational. We worked hard. At the end of the day, we came back to quarters that were very comfortable if not opulent, and ate some of the best meals I've ever eaten.
>
> — *Tom Wild, Syncrude Canada engineer, in* The Syncrude Story: In Our Own Words, *1990*

Throughout the 1990s and into the 21st century, business in the oil patch flourished. The price of oil was moving up, and by late 2007, a barrel of crude was selling for more than $95.

In Alberta, this created an economic boom that some likened to a modern-day gold rush. The world oil price was high enough that investing in the costly process of extracting oil from Alberta's oil sands began to make good business sense. This opened vast areas of the province to oil development.

When the oil sands were included in 2007 estimates of total oil reserves, only Saudi Arabia had greater reserves than Canada's 179 billion barrels. Of Canada's total reserves, 175 billion barrels, or 98 per cent, are found in the oil sands.

Developing the oil sands provided many Albertans with new economic opportunities and helped build prosperity in the province. By 2004, for example, more families with annual incomes of $250 000 or more lived in Calgary than in any other Canadian city. But this boom also created challenges. As people moved to Alberta to find jobs, housing was needed. Increased demand caused house prices to skyrocket. This meant that many people had trouble finding an affordable place to live.

Examine the features and graphics on this page and the next. Jot down your immediate responses. Do any of your responses seem to be contradictory? What visual or graphic might you add to the ones on these two pages to help provide a balanced picture of oil sands development? Is it important to provide a balanced picture? Explain your response.

Figure 4-10 Oil Sands in Alberta

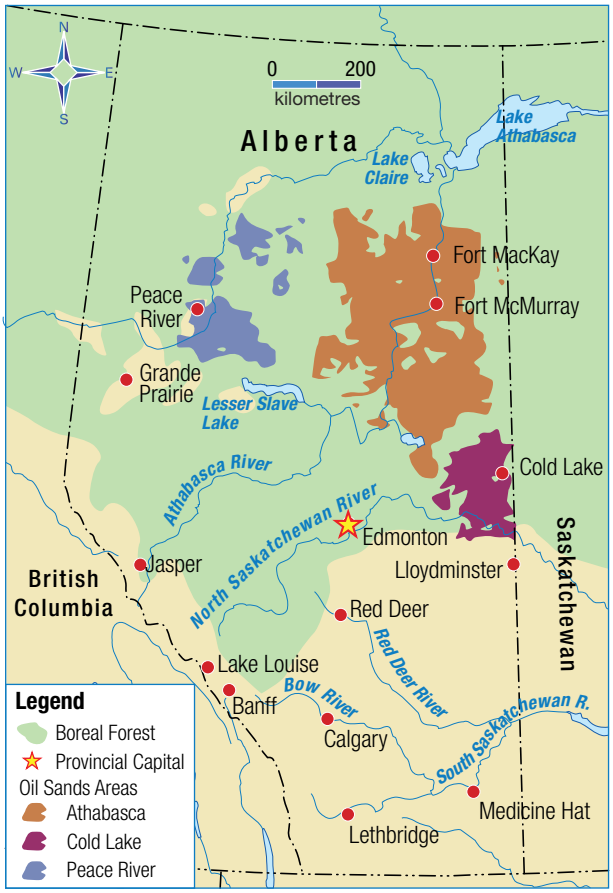


Figure 4-11 These help-wanted signs are a few of the many that appeared along a busy Calgary road in 2007. The high pay offered by the oil industry attracts so many workers that other businesses often have trouble finding employees. The rest of Canada also benefits from oil sands development — through the taxes paid by Albertans, the business opportunities for companies in other provinces, and the jobs for people who move to Alberta. Can supporting Alberta's economic interests express both a regional and nationalist loyalty?

The Oil Sands and Ideological Loyalties

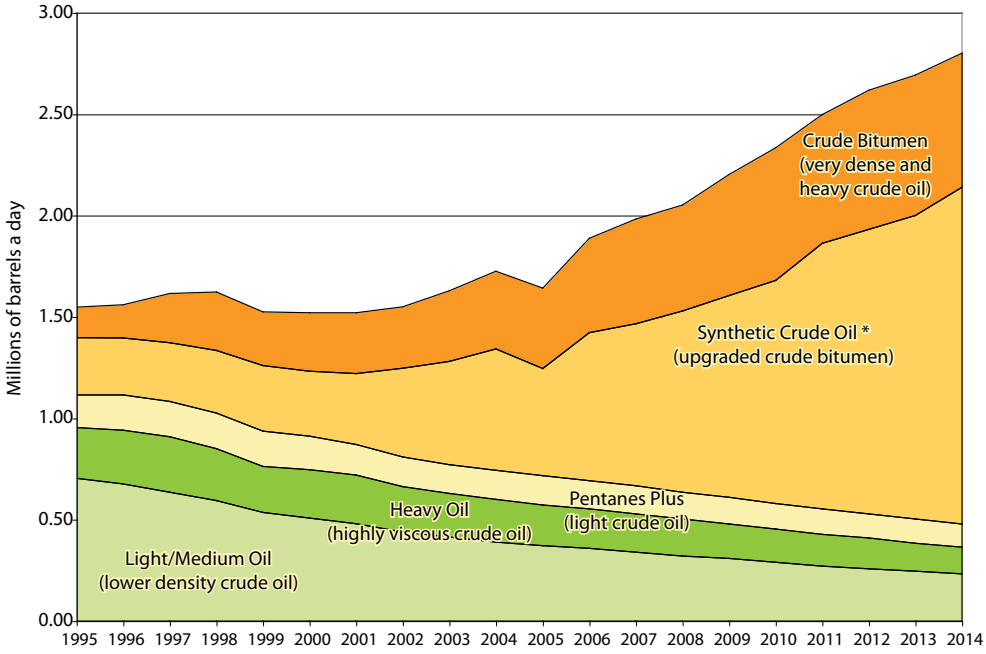
Ideological loyalties can also conflict with nationalist loyalties. Someone who supports oil sands development, for example, may be inspired by both regional and nationalist loyalties. She may believe that developing the oil sands benefits Alberta — and all Canadians — because it provides royalties to the Alberta government, creates a demand for spinoff industries, and ensures that more people are employed and able to pay taxes. Increased tax revenues help the federal government support both social programs and equalization payments to less economically developed provinces.

At the same time, however, other people may believe that the development of the oil sands — and the resulting prosperity — comes at too high a price. These people's ideological loyalty to environmental stewardship and the concept of sustainable prosperity may compete with their regional and nationalist loyalties, which support the idea of a prosperous Alberta and a prosperous Canada.

Examine Figure 4-12. What trends do you see on this graph? How do you think someone who agrees with Ali Abdelrahman, who is quoted in "Voices," would view this graph? How do you think an environmentalist would view this graph? Which view most closely reflects your loyalties? Explain why.

Figure 4-13 Mining for oil sands that lie near the surface involves stripping away the earth to a depth of as much as 100 metres. Estimates suggest that in 2007, strip mining will destroy 3000 square kilometres of boreal forest. Companies are required to restore the areas when they finish mining. What is your response to this information? What might be the response of someone who takes an opposing view? What loyalties might these responses involve?

Figure 4-12 Crude Oil Production in Alberta, Actual and Predicted, 2005


Millions of barrels a day
3.00
2.50
2.00
1.50
1.00
0.50
0.00
1995 1996 1997 1998 1999 2000 2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014
Crude Bitumen (very dense and heavy crude oil)
Synthetic Crude Oil * (upgraded crude bitumen)
Pentanes Plus (light crude oil)
Heavy Oil (highly viscous crude oil)
Light/Medium Oil (lower density crude oil)

Source: Pembina Institute

* Synthetic crude is the oil that comes from oil sands.

The oil and gas industry is driving the boom for the economy . . . There is a direct effect coming from oil and gas and spilling over to other industries. If you have a healthy economy, that will help other sectors to develop . . . If the whole economy is healthy, that will benefit the province in the long run.

— Ali Abdelrahman, senior economist, Alberta Human Resources and Employment, 2006

Web Connection

To find out more about how oil sands development might be balanced with environmental concerns, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

The Oil Sands and Cultural Loyalties

The development of the oils sands has severely tested the loyalty of some First Nations people to their traditional ways of life and culture. The oil industry provides employment and other economic benefits to First Nations, but it also changes the landscape, making traditional activities such as hunting more difficult.

Strip mining, for example, threatens the Fort McKay First Nation. Andrew Boucher, a Fort McKay Elder, has been hunting and trapping in the area since he was nine years old. But he told a Calgary reporter that Fort MacKay has now become "just a little dot" surrounded by oil sands development. "It's getting worse," he said. "Pretty soon we'll be boxed in here. Our way of life is all screwed up . . . It makes me sick . . . [Trapping is] our way of life, so we'd like to keep it. We don't want to lose our way of life, but we're losing it anyways."

In addition, producing synthetic crude requires a great deal of fresh water, and this affects lakes, rivers, and groundwater supplies in oil sands areas. Melody Lepine, director of the Mikisew Cree First Nation Industry Relations Corp., told *The Nature of Things* that her nation depends on Lake Athabasca, which is fed by the Athabasca River. "We don't want any more water taken out [of the Athabasca River]," Lepine said. "We don't want any more pollution. And we just want to carry on the way we've been carrying on since time immemorial."

Figure 4-14 The exploration sites and lines cut through the boreal forest shown in this aerial photograph are in northern Alberta. To locate and map underground oil sands, companies cut a grid of lines. The grid enables geophysicists to bring vibrator and recorder trucks into the forested areas so they can take measurements.

If 2007 plans go ahead, about 20 per cent of Alberta — 137 000 square kilometres of boreal forest — could be fragmented by well sites, access roads, and pipelines, as well as narrow paths cut through forests to enable trucks carrying measuring equipment to enter an area and conduct seismic tests that map underground oil sands.

Although oil companies are required to restore natural areas when they move on, environmentalists warn that this level of activity in the boreal forest may cause irreversible ecological damage.

Reflect and Respond

Consider the following situations. In each case, identify how nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties might conflict.

- You have just received a "prosperity cheque" from the Alberta government, which is distributing the cheques so Alberta citizens can share in the revenues generated by the oil industry.
- Your family's income depends on the oil industry, and you are the president of a local environmental group.
- The representatives on your First Nation council are withholding drilling rights while they negotiate with an oil company to win better employment opportunities for members of your nation.
- Your family is thinking about buying an SUV.
- Your best friend gets a summer job delivering pizza in Fort McMurray and wants you to join the team.
- A family has moved to Fort McMurray but is living in temporary housing.

THE VIEW FROM HERE

The development of the oil sands creates great prosperity, but it also causes environmental damage. This can lead to contending loyalties. Here is how four people have responded to this development.

Melody Lepine is director of the Mikisew Cree First Nation Industry Relations Corp. This First Nation is located on the Athabasca River, about 250 kilometres downstream from Fort McMurray. She made these remarks in 2005.

> [The Athabasca River] will just be all dry and contaminated and we'll be scratching our heads 60 years from now thinking we really should have thought about this. Maybe we shouldn't have given away those 10 last water licences. Maybe we should've done more studies, more environmental baseline work research. We don't want to stop development, yet development should be occurring responsibly, weighing both the economic and environmental balance . . .

Peter Lougheed, a former Alberta premier, led the fight against the National Energy Program in the early 1980s. In 2007, he predicted that the clash over oil sands development will divide Canada.

> I think the issues we saw before – and I was involved in many of them – were important . . . But they aren't even close to [issues raised by the development of the oil sands] . . .
>
> The government of Alberta, with its acceleration of oil sands operations, will in my judgment be seen as the major villain in all of this in the eyes of the public across Canada . . .
>
> My surmise is that . . . national unity will be threatened if the [Supreme] court upholds federal environmental legislation and it causes major damage to Alberta oil sands and our economy.

Don Thompson is an executive with Syncrude Canada. Syncrude is the world's largest producer of synthetic crude oil from oil sands and supplies about 13 per cent of Canada's oil.

> [Syncrude is] a significant generator of economic wealth for Canada. Since we began operations, we have contributed over six billion in royalties, payroll, and municipal taxes to government. And in 2005 alone, our expenditures topped 4.7 billion dollars – the impact of which flowed across the entire country . . . And our land reclamation practices, which include introducing wood bison onto reclaimed land, are recognized sector-wide.

Richard Schneider is senior policy analyst for the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society in Edmonton and author of *Alternative Futures: Alberta's Boreal Forest at the Crossroads.* He made these remarks in 2003.

> Unfortunately we've done a particularly bad job of balancing the needs of development and the needs of the [boreal] forest.
>
> We have some particular problems here because . . . we have forestry and oil and gas development, and agriculture, and the combination of these is what's causing the real concern. For example, in the oil and gas side, we've got upwards of 70 000 kilometres of seismic line being approved for development in a typical year. On top of that, there's well-site clearing, and pipelines put in and roads to every one of those well sites. And so people don't have a good appreciation that the oil and gas industry clears as much forest as the forestry industry does.

Explorations

1. Which speaker's position most closely reflects your own? Is your position based on nationalist or non-nationalist loyalties? What loyalties, if any, does your position compete with?
2. Which speakers do you think demonstrate conflict between their nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties? What are these contending loyalties? Why do they compete?

Defending an Informed Position

FOCUS ON SKILLS

Leaders of the Dehcho First Nations in the Northwest Territories and the Mikisew Cree and Athabasca Chipewyan First Nations in Fort Chipewyan have called for a moratorium — a temporary suspension — on further development of the oil sands. In 2007, Clayton Thomas-Muller, an Aboriginal activist and a member of the Mathais Colomb Cree Nation (Pukatawagan), called on Indigenous peoples in the area of Alberta covered by Treaties 8 and 11 to support the moratorium. To support his position, Thomas-Muller wrote:

> Over the span of 38 years, Northern Alberta has changed from a pristine environment rich in cultural and biological diversity to a landscape resembling a war zone marked with 200-foot-deep pits and thousands of acres of destroyed boreal forests. Lakes and rivers have been contaminated and groundwater systems drained. The impact of the tar sands industry is what I am talking about. This industry has also resulted in the disruption to the Dene First Nations and their treaty rights, including the cultural disruption to the Cree and Métis communities . . .
>
> In the words of many elders and land-based community members living in the tar sands area, concerns for jobs, housing, income, and economic development have taken priority over the traditional Indigenous values of respecting the sacredness of Mother Earth and protection of the environment.
>
> "The river used to be blue. Now it's brown. Nobody can fish or drink from it. The air is bad. This has all happened so fast," said Elsie Fabian, 63, an Elder in a First Nation community along the Athabasca River.

The proposal for a moratorium is controversial. Suppose you were called upon to decide whether to support this proposal. No matter what you decide, your position is likely to spark disagreement — and you would need to be prepared to defend your decision.

The following steps can help you do this. You can use the same steps to help you defend other positions as you progress through this course.

Defending an Informed Position

Step 1: Decide on a position

With a partner, review the material on the oil sands (pp. 95–98), as well as "The View from Here" (p.99). On the basis of this material, decide whether you would support or oppose a proposal for a moratorium on development in the tar sands. Make a note of the loyalties that would form the basis of your decision, and list arguments that support your position.

Step 2: Consider many points of view and perspectives

With your partner or a small group, brainstorm to create a list of at least four stakeholders — individuals, groups, or organizations — that would be likely to challenge your decision. Create a chart like the one shown on the following page and list the stakeholders you selected in the first column.

Discuss arguments each stakeholder might use against your decision and note these possible arguments in the second column of the chart. In the third column, rate the strength of each argument on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = weak argument; 5 = strong argument).

Step 3: Respond to the arguments

In the fourth column of the chart, develop responses — or counter-arguments — for each argument. To do this, you may wish to conduct research to find information and statistics to back up your position. Rate the strength of each of your counter-arguments using a scale similar to the one in Step 2.

Step 4: Compare your ideas with a group

With your partner(s), join one or two other pairs or small groups. Compare your charts by discussing the information, notes, and ratings you have included. If necessary, revise your chart to reflect new ideas that resulted from this discussion.

Is a moratorium on development in the tar sands a good idea?

Our Position _____

Our Reasons for Supporting This Position _____

_____

Stakeholder Challenging Our Position	Argument(s)	Rating of Argument 1 = very weak 5 = very strong	Our Counter-Argument(s)	Rating of Counter-Argument 1 = very weak 5 = very strong

Some Dos and Don'ts of Effective Counter-Arguments

1. Respond to the validity of the argument, not to the character of the person making the argument.
2. Develop your position through logical arguments.
3. Consider arguments carefully and respectfully. Summarize the other person's point of view or perspective to show that you have listened and understood.
4. Be sure of your facts. Don't claim to know more than you do. Be prepared to conduct further research when you are not sure.

Figure 4-15 At a Calgary rally staged by Canadians for Kyoto, a protester holds a sign that supports the Kyoto Protocol, which sets out targets for reducing the greenhouse gas emissions that contribute to climate change. Does a gimmick like this help or hinder the protester's argument?

Summing Up

After considering the arguments against your original position, were you tempted to change your mind? As you progress through this course and through life, you will grapple with many issues. Keep an open mind and be prepared to explore alternatives and to compromise when compromising is appropriate.

How have people reconciled contending nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties?

Over the course of their lives, many people experience situations in which their nationalist loyalties compete with non-nationalist loyalties because these loyalties have differing goals. When this happens, people have developed various ways of reconciling these contending loyalties. They may, for example,

- live with their contending loyalties
- choose one loyalty over another
- accommodate their non-nationalist loyalties by bringing about change in the nation

If you do not participate in a society's decisions, do you have a right to complain about them?

Living with Contending Loyalties

Faced with a situation in which nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties compete, people may choose to remain uninvolved for a variety of reasons. They may, for example,

- be undecided about how to respond
- believe that living with the contending loyalties is preferable to speaking out or taking action
- believe that, as individuals, they cannot make a difference
- be occupied with other pressing concerns

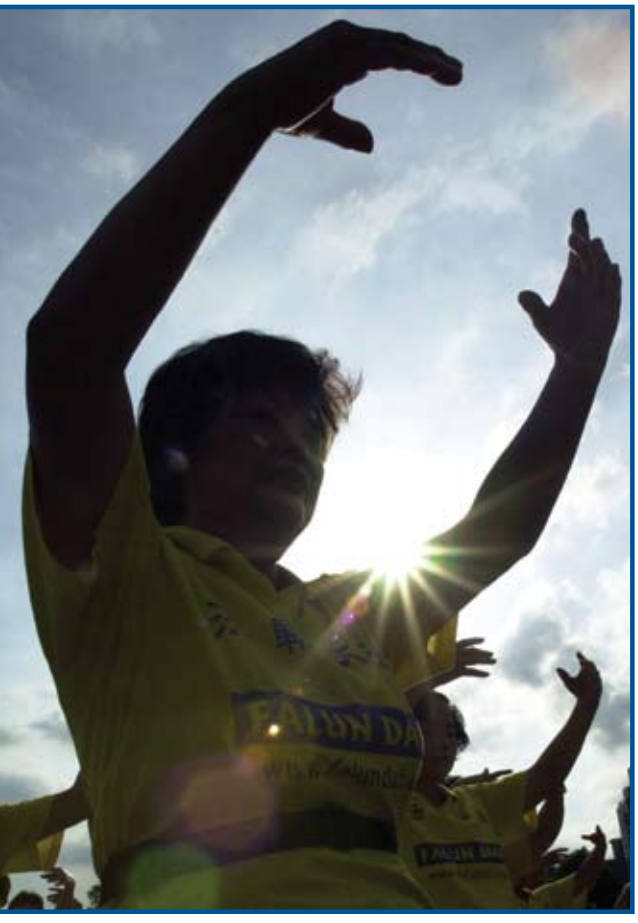


Figure 4-16 Falun Gong members in Taipei, the capital of Taiwan, practise the meditation and ritual motions that express the group's beliefs. Falun Gong is legal in Taiwan. But the movement is banned in China, where members are often arrested. How are religious beliefs protected in Canada?

People who choose to remain uninvolved are sometimes called the silent majority. They are the many people who don't express opinions, even to the occasional pollster who calls on the telephone. But these people may also pay a price for their silence: someone else will make important decisions for them.

Choosing One Loyalty over Another

When people choose one strong loyalty over another, they risk losing an important part of their identity. In China, for example, the government has outlawed a religious and spiritual movement called Falun Gong or Falun Dafa.

In response to their contending nationalist loyalty and their non-nationalist religious loyalty, some Falun Gong members have chosen to obey their country's laws and stopped practising their religion. Others have chosen to defy their country by practising their religion in secret. If they are discovered, they may be jailed and even tortured.

In both cases, people have been forced to sacrifice an important part of their identity. This can lead to feelings of **alienation** — of being on the outside or left out. When religious or spiritual values and beliefs must be suppressed or hidden, people have a hard time sharing the collective consciousness that comes with feeling as if they belong to their nation.

Finding Ways to Include Nationalist and Non-Nationalist Loyalties

Because the Chinese government has banned Falun Gong, members of this movement face a difficult choice between their religious loyalty and loyalty to their country. But in democratic countries like Canada, people can often find ways to reconcile contending nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties so these loyalties can coexist.

Michaëlle Jean, for example, is a Francophone from Québec and Canada's governor general. Like many immigrants to Canada, Jean has more than one national loyalty. Haitian by birth and Canadian by choice, Jean also applied for — and was granted — French citizenship when she married Jean-Pierre Lafond, who was born in France. But when she was asked to become Canada's governor general, Jean voluntarily renounced her French citizenship so that no one would question her loyalty to Canada.

Jean's appointment was also criticized because she and Lafond seemed to toast Québec independence in a documentary they had appeared in. Jean responded to this accusation by saying that her toast referred to Haiti. She also issued a statement declaring her loyalty to Canada. "I want to tell you unequivocally that both [my husband] and I are proud to be Canadian and that we have the greatest respect for the institutions of our country," the statement said. "We are fully committed to Canada. I would not have accepted this position otherwise . . . [We] have never belonged to a political party or the separatist movement."

At the same time, Jean also has several non-nationalist loyalties, some of which she expressed on her coat of arms. The motto on the coat of arms, "Briser les solitudes," means "Breaking down solitudes." This phrase refers to *Two Solitudes*, a 1945 novel by Hugh MacLennan that explored the idea that Francophone and anglophone Canadians were living together but apart — in two separate solitudes — within the same country.

On her coat of arms (see p. 17), Jean includes both nationalist and non-nationalist symbols. What statement does this make about her identity? What message does Jean's coat of arms send to people who are struggling to reconcile nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties? Is this message appropriate in 21st-century Canada?

VOICES

The time of the "two solitudes" that for too long described the character of this country is past. The narrow notion of "every person for himself" does not belong in today's world, which demands that we learn to see beyond our wounds, beyond our differences, for the good of all.

— Michaëlle Jean, in her first speech as governor general, 2005

Figure 4-17 When the appointment of Michaëlle Jean to the post of governor general was announced, some people, such as this protester on Parliament Hill, questioned Jean's nationalist loyalty. Is the protester asking a fair question? Should Jean have felt the need to give up her French citizenship?

Figure 4-18 In 2006, Michaëlle Jean made an official visit to Haiti, where she was born. Jean spent some of her childhood in the town of Jacmel, where she was welcomed enthusiastically. What loyalties do you think the residents of Jacmel were displaying?

[Wearing] the turban in the RCMP meant an acceptance into Canada's mainstream. To be allowed to wear the turban is a clear indication of getting accepted. I just wanted to join the RCMP as an officer and to be able to work with equal respect and dignity in every way.

— Baltej Singh Dhillon, RCMP officer, in an interview with the India Post, *2002*

Bringing about Change in the Nation

To accommodate non-nationalist loyalties, people who live in democratic countries can try to change their nation. This reconciliation is often achieved by promoting a cause within the context of the nation.

When Baltej Singh Dhillon, for example, challenged the RCMP dress code that required all officers to wear Stetsons, he used options available within Canada to persuade the Mounties to make a reasonable accommodation. These options may not be open to people who do not live in democracies.

But even in democratic countries, people must sometimes seek justice outside the nation. This is what Sandra Lovelace Nicholas, who is featured in "Making a Difference," did when she found that, like thousands of other First Nations women, she had permanently lost her status under the Indian Act.

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Sandra Lovelace Nicholas
Fighting for First Nations Women

MAKING A DIFFER-
MAKING A DIF-

Figure 4-19 Sandra Lovelace Nicholas was awarded the Order of Canada in 1990. In 1992, she received a Governor General's Award in Commemoration of the Persons Case, and in 2005, she was appointed to the Senate.

When Sandra Lovelace Nicholas married a non-Aboriginal American in 1970 and moved with him to California, the Maliseet woman had no idea that she was starting a chain of events that would alter the lives of First Nations men and women across Canada.

A few years later, Lovelace Nicholas and her husband divorced and she returned home to the Tobique First Nation reserve in New Brunswick. But when she arrived, she found that she and her children no longer qualified for the rights and benefits guaranteed in the Indian Act. Though First Nations men who married non-Aboriginal women retained their status and rights, the law stripped First Nations women who married non-Aboriginal men of their status.

Lovelace Nicholas believed this was discrimination. To protest, she set up a tent on the reserve. She then joined reserve mothers who were protesting the lack of housing for women. At the time, all reserve houses were registered in the names of men. The Canadian government had identified them as the heads of households. The protest snowballed into a 100-mile Native Women's Walk from Oka, Québec, to Ottawa.

In Ottawa, Lovelace Nicholas met Prime Minister Joe Clark, who promised action. But nothing happened. First Nations leaders, mostly men, opposed changing the Indian Act, in part because of worries that a change would mean restoring Indian status to thousands of women. They feared that these women would flood back onto reserves and make an already strained housing situation even worse.

So Lovelace Nicholas petitioned the United Nations Human Rights Commission. She said that Canada had violated the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which bans sexual discrimination and guarantees "equal protection before the law" to everyone.

The UN agreed, and in 1985, the federal government finally introduced legislation changing the Indian Act — and 16 000 First Nations women successfully applied to regain their status.

Explorations

1. How can Lovelace Nicholas's actions be interpreted as an attempt to reconcile her non-nationalist loyalty to Aboriginal women with her nationalist loyalties?
2. When people try to change a nation, they often face an uphill battle and may be labelled troublemakers. But later, they are often admired for their courage and wisdom. This is what happened to Lovelace Nicholas. Identify someone else to whom this has happened. Explain the contending nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties this person was trying to reconcile.

Fighting for a Sense of Belonging

In 1957, **segregation** — the forced separation of racial groups — was still common in the American South. But the civil rights movement was gaining strength and laws were changing. That year, 16-year-old Minnijean Brown Trickey and eight other teenagers became the first blacks to attend Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas.

Angry whites gathered outside the school and screamed taunts and insults as the black students tried to start school, and Arkansas's governor called out the National Guard to block the school's entrance. This went on for days, until U.S. president Dwight Eisenhower sent in the army to protect the teens.

The students, who became known as the Little Rock Nine, were finally able to start classes, but they continued to suffer at the hands of other students. They were spat at, kicked down stairs, and body slammed. Teachers did little to help.

Supported by her belief in non-violence, Brown Trickey took this treatment for five months before she finally reacted strongly. As punishment, she was expelled. Still, she went on to earn a bachelor of arts, and during the Vietnam War moved to Canada with her husband, who was a conscientious objector. In Canada, she continued her education and to fight for a variety of causes. She joined the struggle to save old-growth forests in Ontario's Temagami district and to promote Aboriginal rights.

In some ways, Brown Trickey told an interviewer, her involvement in Aboriginal rights was an accident. "The first people I met when I moved to Toronto were Native Canadians," she said. "I did a bachelor of social work in Native human services, which was great. I learned so much about the similarities of cultures. The main point is that one doesn't really choose a particular issue to work towards. In fact, we are chosen often. That's a good way to be. To me, it means some kind of openness, willingness to work with anyone, any group."

What non-nationalist loyalty were Brown Trickey and the Little Rock Nine trying to reconcile? What might Brown Trickey have in common with Aboriginal peoples in Canada? How might her experience in Little Rock contribute to her interest in the struggle of Aboriginal peoples?

Web Connection

To find out more about the Little Rock Nine and desegregation in the United States, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Figure 4-20 Soldiers escort the Little Rock Nine to school in 1957. In September 2007, members of the Little Rock Nine (left) gathered to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the successful integration of Little Rock Central High School. Minnijean Brown Trickey (second from left) and the other students have remained fast friends over the years. How might sharing this experience create lasting friendships?

Fighting for Religious Freedoms

Though the Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees freedom of religion to Canadians, Canada is a secular state — a country in which religion is separate from politics and government. This does not mean, however, that government actions never affect religious groups, or vice versa.

In 2003, for example, Alberta — like many other provinces — passed a law requiring a photograph on all drivers' licences. But some members of the Wilson Siding Hutterite Colony, a farming community in southern Alberta, believe that the Bible prohibits them from willingly having their picture taken.

Obeying the law would mean violating their religious beliefs, but sticking to their religious beliefs and refusing to have their pictures taken would mean forfeiting their drivers' licences. Losing their licences would hamper the community's ability to continue farming and to interact with other Hutterite communities in the Prairie provinces.

Members of the Wilson colony challenged the Alberta law in court. They argued that the picture requirement violated their religious freedoms, which are guaranteed in the Charter. The court agreed. As a result, an exception was made, and Hutterites were allowed to carry drivers' licences that do not include a photograph — but in late 2007, the case was appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada.

Conduct Internet research to find out what has happened since then.

FYI

Hutterites are a Christian religious community that originated in 16th-century Austria. Members of the community were often persecuted because of their pacifist beliefs and communal lifestyle. As a result, many immigrated to North America, where they hoped to practise their religion in peace. In Hutterite colonies, all property is owned by the community and earnings are pooled. When community members need an item, the community supplies it.

VOICES

What is at stake here is the future of our country, the interests of Canadian citizens, and most importantly Canada's international reputation for being a leader in human rights where citizens from different ethnic groups are treated no different than other Canadians.

— Maher Arar, at a news conference after returning to Canada, 2003

Making Reconciliation Work

Neither Monia Mazigh nor her husband, Maher Arar, planned to become social activists. The two met when they were students at McGill University, married, and had two children. Mazigh worked as a research assistant and French-language instructor at the University of Ottawa, while Arar was a telecommunications engineer.

But a year after the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, the Syrian-born Arar was flying home from a family holiday in Tunisia. On a stopover in New York, he was detained by American officials. After receiving misleading or false information from Canadian officials, the Americans accused Arar of being a terrorist and deported him to Syria. There, he was jailed and tortured.

Over the next year, Mazigh brought her husband's treatment to the attention of the media, which put pressure on the Canadian government to press for Arar's release. Thanks to Mazigh, Arar was finally set free and allowed to return home.

Once Arar was home, he and Mazigh set out to clear his name and ensure that other Canadians never face the same treatment. The two succeeded in pressuring the government to conduct an inquiry to uncover the sequence of events that led to his deportation.

Figure 4-21 Maher Arar and Monia Mazigh consult during a news conference in 2004. How do you think this couple's struggle to win the government's acknowledgement that Arar's rights had been violated may have affected their national loyalty?

The inquiry found no evidence that Arar was involved in terrorism, and in 2007, Prime Minister Stephen Harper formally apologized and announced that Arar would receive $10.5 million in compensation for his ordeal. Arar and Mazigh now live in Kamloops, British Columbia, where Mazigh is a professor of finance at Thompson Rivers University.

Read Maher Arar's words in "Voices" on the previous page. What were his goals in trying to clear his name? What loyalties were involved in these goals? On a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = not very successful; 5 = very successful), rate how successful he was.

Web Connection

To find out more about the Maher Arar case, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Taking Turns

Is it important to your identity to reconcile your nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties?

The students responding to this question are Jane, who lives in Calgary and is descended from black Loyalists who fled to Nova Scotia after the American Revolution; Rick, who was born in the United States but moved to Fort McMurray with his family when he was 10; and Amanthi, who lives in Edson and whose parents immigrated from Sri Lanka.

Jane

I think my strongest non-nationalist loyalty is to black people everywhere — and this loyalty fits well with loyalty to Canada. After all, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees that all Canadian citizens are equal. Sure, there are problems, like the police stopping black male drivers just because they think black people are more likely to be criminals, not because they've done anything wrong. So, yes, reconciling my non-nationalist loyalty is important to me because I think our country should be a place where everyone, including me, is really and truly equal.

I guess you could call me a free spirit. And that's what I like about Alberta — the independent-minded people who are willing to risk doing things on their own. It's all about taking responsibility for your own actions. I don't mind helping out other provinces, which Alberta does through equalization payments. This makes Canada strong, and I feel a strong loyalty to Canada. But if Peter Lougheed's prediction pans out and Canada and Alberta end up in a battle over the oil industry, I'm pretty sure where my loyalty would lie. But I really hope that it doesn't come to that.

Rick

Amanthi

I'm a Buddhist, and Buddhists believe in peace and non-violence. But we can be courageous about expressing our convictions. Think about what happened in Burma in 2007 — the thousands of Buddhist monks who marched peacefully to try to persuade the government to become more democratic, even when they probably knew they would be beaten, arrested, and even killed. I sometimes wonder how I would have acted if I'd been faced with the same choice. Take to the streets and try to bring about change or keep my head down and don't rock the boat? I'm lucky to live in Canada, where I don't need to make decisions like this. But I also wish the Canadian government had spoken out more strongly when that happened. I feel a little ashamed of the government's lack of action — and ashamed, too, that I did nothing to change things. Now I need to turn this feeling into positive action.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Jane, Rick, and Amanthi are answering? Think about the non-nationalist loyalties you feel most strongly about. Do they compete with your nationalist loyalties? If so, is it important to reconcile these contending loyalties?

1. In her 2007 Canada Day speech, Michaëlle Jean, the country's governor general, issued a challenge to Canadian young people when she said, "I challenge you, the youth of this country, to do everything in your power to make your dreams come true and to make your actions matter. There is no dream too wild or unattainable for those who dare to dream big."
   a) What is your opinion of Jean's challenge?
   b) Return to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's challenge to the youth of Turkey (p. 33). List two similarities and two differences between Jean's challenge and his.
   c) Think of one dream that you might view as "too wild or unattainable." Explain how trying to realize this dream could help — or harm — you, your community, and your nation.
2. In 1981, at the height of the battle over the National Energy Program, Tom Innes, political cartoonist for the *Calgary Herald*, created the cartoon on this page to express this view of the long negotiations between the Alberta government and the federal government over setting a domestic price for oil. Innes also created the cartoon shown in Figure 4-9.
   a) Identify the characters Innes is lampooning. Who is Pete? Who is Pierre?
   b) Innes titled the cartoon "Team Canada?" What message do you think Innes was trying to convey through his title choice? What is the significance of the question mark in his title? Why did he dress the characters in hockey gear? Why do you think he included a maple leaf as a shoulder emblem for both characters?
   c) Does remaining true to your nationalist loyalty mean accepting the status quo — things as they are? Describe a situation where you think people, including yourself, should try to change the nation to accommodate a non-nationalist loyalty, such as a regional loyalty.
   d) When dealing with serious issues, humour often helps people take themselves a little less seriously by allowing them a moment to pause, step back, and rethink their position. List three reactions Peter Lougheed might have experienced on opening the *Calgary Herald* and seeing Innes's cartoon. Write a sentence explaining a possible reason for each reaction. You might, for example, say that he felt resignation because he believed the situation would never be resolved. Then do the same for Pierre Trudeau.

Figure 4-22 Team Canada?

3. Develop a survey to measure the strength of various contending nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties. Be sure that your survey questions allow for a range of responses. You may, for example, ask respondents to identify the strength of their loyalty to Canada. To do this, you could ask a question like this:

   How would you describe your loyalty to Canada?

   - extremely strong
   - strong
   - not sure
   - weak
   - extremely weak

   To discover whether your respondents feel loyalties that contend with their loyalty to Canada, you might ask a question like this:

   Which of the following do you feel a strong or very strong loyalty toward? Select as many as are applicable.

   - your religion
   - your country of origin
   - your province
   - your gender
   - your nation (please name)
   - other (please list)

   On the basis of responses to this question, you may then wish to test the strength of each of the other loyalties and even ask some questions that compare various loyalties.

   Interview at least 10 people — classmates, teachers, friends outside school, family members — to develop a fair sample.

   Compile a short report that presents and explains your findings. In your report, you may wish to include graphs that show your findings.

4. An epigraph is a quotation at the beginning of a book or a chapter. This quotation often hints at or sums up the theme of the work. As the epigraph for his book *Two Solitudes*, Hugh MacLennan chose this quotation by the Austrian poet and novelist Rainer Maria Rilke: "Love consists in this, that two solitudes protect and touch and greet each other."

   Was MacLennan's choice an appropriate way of thinking about Canada? Explain your reasoning.

5. In this chapter, you have explored nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties, how they can compete, and how some Canadians have chosen to reconcile them.

   Prepare a response to the chapter issue: To what extent should people reconcile their nationalist and non-nationalist loyalties?

   To develop an informed position on this issue, consider some real examples of efforts at reconciliation and whether they have been successful.

   a) In a small group, select some examples of reconciliation efforts and the contending loyalties involved in each. You may draw these examples from *Exploring Nationalism*, your own experience, and other sources. When you have listed about eight examples, review them and consider what might have happened if no reconciliation of loyalties had been attempted.

   b) Drawing ideas from your group discussion, prepare a personal response to the chapter issue.

   c) Share your response with your group. Listen to the responses of other group members. Prepare a group consensus in response to the chapter issue.

   d) Share your group's response with the class and listen to the responses of other groups. Develop a class consensus in response to the chapter issue.

Think about Your Challenge

Consider all the symbols that you have developed for your coat of arms. Each should reflect an aspect of the relationship between your identity and your understandings of nation. Your notes should explain the various symbols, the reasons you chose them, and how they show the relationship between your identity and your understandings of nation.

Ask a partner or your teacher for feedback on this material. On the basis of this feedback and the checklist for success on page 16, create a final version of your coat of arms.